

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ACDA-07 ERDA-05 AF-10 ARA-10
CIAE-00 DODE-00 EA-10 EUR-12 PM-05 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NASA-01 NEA-10 NSAE-00 NSC-05 OIC-02 SP-02
PA-01 PRS-01 OES-07 SS-15 USIA-06 /135 W
-----012827 172031Z /63

R 171657Z SEP 77
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5464
INFO USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 3121

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, UN, UR, US
SUBJ: US/USSR PRE-UNGA CONSULTATIONS: DISARMAMENT

1. SUMMARY. IN COURSE OF PRE-UNGA CONSULTATIONS SEPTEMBER 16, US AND USSR EXCHANGED VIEWS ON DISARMAMENT ISSUES INCLUDING RESOLUTIONS ON THE AGENDA OF THE 32ND UNGA, ANTICIPATED PRESSURES FOR ESTABLISHING A CLOSER RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE CCD AND THE UN AND FOR CHANGING THE CCD CO-CHAIRMANSHIP, AND PREPARATION FOR THE SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT (SSOD). US URGED SOVIETS TO RECONSIDER THEIR POSITION ON PROTOCOL I OF THE TREATY OF TLATELOLCO AND TO JOIN US IN MUTUAL EFFORT TO STRENGTHEN INTERNATIONAL ADHERENCE TO THE NPT. WE ENCOURAGED POSITIVE APPROACH TO SPECIAL SESSION, BUT SOVIETS CONTINUE TO VIEW IT MAINLY AS INTERIM STEP TO A WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE. END SUMMARY.

2. IN OPENING THE DISCUSSION, US CCD REP FISHER NOTED THAT USSR AND US FACE MUTUAL PROBLEM OF CARRYING OUT BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS ON DISARMAMENT ISSUES WHILE AT THE SAME TIME TAKING ACCOUNT OF THE INTEREST OF CCD AND UN MEMBERS
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IN HAVING SOME SENSE OF INVOLVEMENT IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS. THE US/SOVIET APPROACH TO THESE MULTILATERAL CONCERNS INEVITABLY WOULD HAVE AN IMPACT IN PREPARATIONS FOR AND THE DISCUSSIONS AT NEXT YEAR'S SPECIAL SESSION. FISHER NOTED THAT IN EFFECT THE SSOD HAS ALREADY BEGUN -- I.E., IN ITS PREPCOMS. THE DISCUSSION THEN TURNED TO DISARMAMENT ITEMS ON THE AGENDA OF THE 32ND UNGA.

3. CTB: US HOPES THAT 32ND UNGA WILL AGREE TO ADOPTION OF ANODYNE RESOLUTION, WITHOUT ANY REFERENCE TO CONTROVERSIAL PNE ISSUE, WHILE AWAITING OUTCOME OF TRILATERAL TALKS. SOVIETS SAID THEY AGREED BUT COULD NOT BE CERTAIN OF WHAT KIND OF RESOLUTION OTHER COUNTRIES MIGHT INTRODUCE. RESPONDING TO TROYANOVSKY'S QUESTION, FISHER NOTED THAT THE MAJOR OUTSTANDING ISSUES IN OUR DISCUSSIONS WERE (A) THE PROBLEM OF PNES, (B) THE QUESTION OF THE DURATION OF A CTB PENDING CHINESE AND FRENCH ADHERENCE, AND (C) VERIFICATION. VERIFICATION PROBLEMS WERE LESS DIFFICULT THAN THEY HAD BEEN SEVERAL YEARS AGO.

4. CW: US HOPES THAT CW RESOLUTION WILL BE SIMILAR TO THAT ADOPTED AT THE 31ST UNGA. THERE MAY BE A JOINT US/SOVIET INITIATIVE ON CW FOR THE CCD WINTER SESSION BUT IT WOULD NOT BE READY IN TIME FOR THE FIRST COMMITTEE DISCUSSION IN NEW YORK. SMUN COUNSELLOR TULINOV SAID SOVIETS ESTIMATED THAT CHANCES ARE GOOD FOR PROCEDURAL RESOLUTION CALLING ON THE CCD TO EXPEDITE ITS WORK.

5. MDW: FISHER SAID THAT US WILL SUPPORT THE BRITISH PROPOSAL FOR AN UNGA RES. CALLING ON THE CCD TO MONITOR NEW WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION (MDWS) AS THEY ARE IDENTIFIED. EMPHASIZING THAT US AND USSR SHOULD HAVE NO ADVERSARY RELATIONSHIP ON THIS ISSUE, HE SAID THAT US CONFIDENTIAL

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COULD NOT SUPPORT THE SOVIET APPROACH IN MDW SINCE IT WAS VAGUE AND SWEEPING IN NATURE. TROYANOVSKY NOTED THAT SOVIETS AGAIN WILL INTRODUCE THEIR OWN MDW RES. HE EXPRESSED PUZZLEMENT OVER US POSITION IN VIEW OF PRESIDENT CARTER'S REFERENCE IN MARCH 1977 UN ADDRESS TO ELIMINATING NEW WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION. REPLYING TO TROYANOVSKY'S QUESTION, FISHER OBSERVED THAT US DOES NOT REGARD THE NEUTRON BOMB AS A WEAPON IN THE MDW CATEGORY, AND SAID THE WAS ENCOURAGED THAT THE SOVIETS HAD NOT TRIED TO MAKE THIS KIND OF POLEMICAL ARGUMENT IN GENEVA.

6. RW: FISHER SAID THAT THERE MAY BE POSSIBILITY THAT US AND USSR WOULD HAVE A JOINT INITIATIVE ON RADIOLOGICAL WARFARE (RW) BY OCTOBER 17 AND COULD CONSIDER ITS PRESENTATION AT THE 32ND UNGA. (NOTE: IN SEPARATE DISCUSSION LATER ON, FISHER AND LEONARD AGREED THAT IT PROBABLY WOULD BE PREFERABLE TO LINK ANY DISCUSSIONS OF RW AT 32ND UNGA TO CONCRETE PROGRESS IN OTHER AREAS SUCH AS CHEMICAL WEAPONS RATHER THAN SEEKING MULTILATERAL SUPPORT FOR SEPARATE RW RESOLUTION.)

7. SALT: THE US HAD BEEN UNHAPPY WITH LAST YEAR'S UNGA RESOLUTION. IN ABSENCE OF FURTHER PROGRESS ON SALT II, WE HAD TO EXPECT A SIMILAR RESOLUTION THIS YEAR. SOVIETS SAID THEY ALSO EXPECT A TOUGH RESOLUTION.

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CIAE-00 DODE-00 EA-10 EUR-12 PM-05 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NASA-01 NEA-10 NSAE-00 NSC-05 OIC-02 SP-02
PA-01 PRS-01 OES-07 SS-15 USIA-06 (ISO) W
-----013083 172135Z /63

R 171657Z SEP 77
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8. SPECIAL SESSION (SSOD): FISHER NOTED THAT IN BOTH MOSCOW AND WASHINGTON THERE WERE TWO ATTITUDES TO THE SSOD, WITH SOME FAVORING A DAMAGE LIMITING APPROACH AND OTHERS VIEWING THE SPECIAL SESSION AS AN OPPORTUNITY FOR ACCELERATING DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS. EXPRESSING THE HOPE THAT THE SSOD WILL PRODUCE POSITIVE RESULTS, FISHER ADDED THAT US AND USSR WILL COME UNDER HEAVY ATTACK ON THE CCD CO-CHAIRMANSHIP ISSUE AND THAT WE OUGHT TO HAVE CLOSE CONSULTATIONS ON THIS. AS REGARDS THE FOLLOW-UP TO THE SPECIAL SESSION, THE US IS OPEN TO THE POSSIBILITY OF A SECOND SSOD RATHER THAN A WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE (WDC). TROYANOVSKY OUTLINED THE WELL-KNOWN SOVIET POSITION IN FAVOR OF A WDC, NOTING THAT THE SPECIAL SESSION AT BEST COULD ONLY MAKE RECOMMENDATIONS. THE WEC, IN CONTRAST, COULD LEAD TO CONCRETE ACTION IN THE FORM OF COMMITMENT BY GOVERNMENTS. FOKINE SUGGESTED THAT THE SSOD MAY PROVE INCONCLUSIVE AND THAT THE BEST APPROACH FOR ENCOURAGING DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS PROBABLY WOULD BE THE CONTINUATION OF PRESENT MECHANISMS PLUS THE CONVENING OF THE WDC.

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9. UN/CCD LINK: FISHER NOTED THAT MEXICAN CCD REP ROBLES AND OTHERS WILL WANT THE SPECIAL SESSION TO REEXAMINE THE UN/CCD RELATIONSHIP. THE US IS OPPOSED TO ANY EFFORT TO TURN THE CCD INTO A UN BODY WITH VOTING ARRANGEMENTS. THE SOVIETS EMPHASIZED THEIR FIRM OPPOSITION TO ANY PROPOSAL AT THE SPECIAL SESSION TO EITHER DISMANTLE THE CCD OR TO ESTABLISH A CLOSER LINK BETWEEN IT AND THE UN.

10. TREATY OF TLATELOLCO: LEONARD ASKED SOVIETS TO REVIEW THEIR OPPOSITION TO RATIFICATION AT PROTOCOL II. HE NOTED THAT US RATIFICATION OF PROTOCOL I THIS YEAR HAD LED TO GREAT IMPROVEMENT IN TONE OF OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH MEXICO ON DISARMAMENT ISSUES. GARCIA ROBLES, WHO WOULD BE MAJOR PLAYER IN SSOD, HAD EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR US ACTION. SOVIET RATIFICATION OF PROTOCOL II WOULD ALSO ENCOURAGE BRAZIL AND ARGENTINA TO RECONSIDER THEIR POSITION ON THE TREATY. FULL ADHERENCE BY LATIN AMERICAN STATES TO THE TREATY ALSO COULD HELP TO FILL THE GAP IN ADHERENCE TO THE NPT. TULINOV RESPONDED THAT SOVIETS PROBABLY WOULD ADHERE TO THEIR STANDARD POSITION, AT LEAST FOR THIS YEAR.

11. SOUTH AFRICAN AND NON-PROLIFERATION: MAYNES STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF AVOIDING AN UNGA RESOLUTION CALLING ON MEMBER STATES TO CEASE ALL NUCLEAR CO-OPERATION WITH SOUTH AFRICA. US BELIEVES THAT EFFORT SHOULD CONTINUE TO BE MADE TO ATTAIN SAG ADHERENCE TO THE NPT AND TO THE ACCEPTANCE OF INTERNATIONAL SAFEGUARDS. THIS EFFORT WOULD BE UNDERCUT BY AN UNGA RES REJECTING ALL FORMS OF CO-OPERATION WITH SOUTH AFRICA IN THE NUCLEAR FIELD, AND COULD BRING ABOUT EXACTLY WHAT WE WANT TO PREVENT -- A SOUTH AFRICAN NUCLEAR WEAPONS CAPABILITY. WE HOPED

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FOR SOVIET SUPPORT FOR OUR APPROACH. LEONARD SAID THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN NUCLEAR ISSUE, REGRETTABLE AS IT WAS, COULD BE TURNED TO ADVANTAGE BY HIGHLIGHTING TO OTHER STATES THE URGENCY OF STRENGTHENING INTERNATIONAL ACCEPTANCE OF THE NPT. FISHER ADDED THAT THE SENATE WAS NOW DEALING WITH A LEGISLATIVE PROPOSAL FOR FULL CYCLE SAFEGUARDS AND THAT AN UNGA RES AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA ON NUCLEAR ISSUES WOULD BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE TO THIS EFFORT. SOVIETS AGREED THAT NON-PROLIFERATION ISSUES DESERVE MORE ATTENTION BUT DID NOT COMMENT IN DETAIL.

12. SOVIET DISARMAMENT INITIATIVES: RESPONDING TO MAYNES' QUESTION, TROYANOVSKY SAID THAT HE HAD NO SPECIFICS ON SOVIET DISARMAMENT INITIATIVES AT THE 32ND UNGA. HE INDICATED HOWEVER THAT, AS IN THE PAST, GROMYKO PROBABLY WOULD INTRODUCE A NEW, OR AT LEAST NEWLY-WORDED, DISARMAMENT PROPOSAL TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

13. ENMOD: TROYANOVSKY SAID THE SOVIETS WERE CONSIDERING A RESOLUTION AT THE 32ND UNGA CALLING ON STATES WHICH HAVE NOT YET DONE SO TO SIGN AND RATIFY THE ENMOD CONVENTION. LEONARD RECOMMENDED THAT, IN VIEW OF THE CONSIDERABLE CONTROVERSY OVER THE MANNER OF PRESENTATION OF THE ENMOD RESOLUTION AT THE 31ST UNGA, IT WOULD BE PREFERABLE NOT TO BRING IT UP AGAIN AT THIS SESSION. FISHER SAID US CLEARLY SUPPORTED THE CONVENTION BUT AGREED ON INADVISABILITY OF RAISING ENMOD ISSUE AT 32ND UNGA. SOVIETS DID NOT INDICATE WHAT THEY WOULD DO.

14. AT CONCLUSION, IT WAS AGREED THAT FISHER AND LIKHACHEV WOULD CONTINUE CONSULTATIONS ON THE DISARMAMENT ISSUES EXPECTED TO ARISE AT THE 32ND UNGA. FIRST COMMITTEE ORGANIZATIONAL SESSION IS DUE TO TAKE PLACE IN NEXT TEN DAYS TO DECIDE I.A. ON SEQUENCE OF ITS AGENDA ITEMS. AT PRESENT, WE ANTICIPATE DECISION TO BEGIN ITS WORK WITH DISARMAMENT ITEMS, AS PROPOSED BY SWEDEN.
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DISARMAMENT DEBATE WOULD BEGIN ON OR ABOUT OCTOBER 17.
USUN WILL KEEP DEPARTMENT AND US MISSION GENEVA INFORMED.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: DISARMAMENT, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 17-Sep-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977USUNN03121
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770339-0190
Format: TEL
From: USUN NEW YORK
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770951/aaaabrcf.tel
Line Count: 259
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 92521343-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION IO
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 14-Oct-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1233285
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: US/USSR PRE-UNGA CONSULTATIONS: DISARMAMENT
TAGS: PARM, UR, US, UN
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/92521343-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009